

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 SAM-01 SAJ-01 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 EAE-00 /080 W

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P R 190809Z SEP 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3455

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USLO PEKING

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

CNINCPAC HONOLULU HI

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 13278

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA UR

SUBJECT: USSR-JAPAN RELATIONS:AMBASSADOR TROYANOVSKY CALLS ON FONMIN

SUMMARY: IN OBLIQUE ALMOST COY EXCHANGE SEPTEMBER17, SOVIET AMBASSADOR TROYANOVSKY IMPLIED TO FONMN MIYAZAWA THAT GROMYKO VISIT IN DUBT IF JAPANEES CONCLUDE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY ONCHINESE TERMS. IN REPLY, MIYAZAWA SUGGESTED THAT CONCLUSION OF TREATY NOT AIMED AT SOVIETS. TROYANOVSKY MOVE TIMED TO INHIBIT MIYAZAWA'S UPCOMING MEETING WITH PRC FONMIN CHIAO KUAN-HUA, BUT WE NOT SURE THAT IT WILL. END SUMMARY.

1. SOVIET AMBASSADOR TROYANOVSKY, JUST BACK IN TOKYO FROM TWO MONTHS HOME LEAVE, CALLED AT HIS OWN REQUEST ON FOREIGN MINISTER KIYAZAWA SEPTEMBER 17. ACCORDING TO FONOFF FIRST EAST EUROPEAN DIVDIR ARAI (WHO ATTENDED MEETING) TROYANOVSKY BEGAN BY EXPLAINING THAT PURPOSE OF CALL WAS TO REPLY TO JAPANESE PROPOSAL THAT FOREIGN MINISTER  
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GROMYKO VISIT JAPAN SOMETIME IN LATE OCTOBER OR EARLY

NOVEMBER. GROMYKO, TROYANOVSKY CONTINUED, WOULD LIKE TO MAKE VISIT, BUT OCTOBER-NOVEMBER PERIOD PROPOSED WAS NOT FEASIBLE DUE TO SCHEDULING PROBLEMS. IN FACT, TROYANOVSKY CONTINUED, GROMYKO NOT NOW IN POSITION TO PROPOSE ALTERNATIVE DATE, BUT HAS IN MIND EITHER LATE DECEMBER 1975 OR EARLY JANUARY 1976.

2. FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA REPLIED THAT JAPANESE PROPOSAL HAD BEEN MADE WELL IN ADVANCE, LAST JANUARY IN FACT. GOJ EXPECTS GROMYKO TO COME THIS YEAR. HE ASKED TROYANOVSKY TO CONTINUE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND FIX A DATE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. MIYAZAWA SAID HE WOULD TAKE MATTER UP WITH GROMYKO IN NEW YORK.

3. SMILING TROYANOVSKY SAID MEETING WOULD NOT BE COMPLETE WITHOUT DISCUSSING ONE MORE QUESTION, AND CONVEYED STRONG INTEREST OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT IN A CONTROVERSIAL CLAUSE DIRECTED AT A THIRD COUNTRY IN DRAFT TREATY THAT JAPAN WAS IN PROCESS OF NEGOTIATING WITH ANOTHER GOVERNMENT. NEVER MENTIONING EITHER THE WORDS "HEGEMONY" OR "PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA", TROYANOVSKY WENT ON TO REMIND MIYAZAWA OF EXCHANGE OF STATEMENTS MADE BY BOTH GOVERNMENTS LAST JUNE. USSR HAD PAID SPECIAL ATTENTION TO PORTION OF JUNE 18 GOJ STATEMENT WHICH DESCRIBED JAPANESE ATTITUDE TOWARD TREATY AS DIRECTED AT NO THIRD PARTY. SINCE THAT TIME, HOWEVER, MOSCOW HAS BEEN "HEARING NOISES" FROM TOKYO WHICH MAKE SOVIETS WONDER WHETHER JAPANESE GOVERNMENT NOT COMING CLOSE TO POSITION OF "OTHER COUNTRY" ON THIS ISSUE.

4. MIYAZAWA BEGAN HIS REPLY BY JOKING THAT TROYANOVSKY HAD WOUND UP BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE LAST SUMMER HAD BEEN RUNNING AROUND LOOSE DURING HIS ABSENCE. HE ASSURED TROYANOVSKY THAT SOVIET FEARS OF JAPAN INTERPRETING TREATY AS AIMED AT THIRD COUNTRY WERE GROUNDLESS. JAPAN HAD NO MILITARY STRENGTH AND WOULD TAKE NO ACTION THAT WOULD ANTAGONIZE A COUNTRY AS POWERFUL AS THE SOVIET UNION. RATHER IT IS THE SOVIET UNION THAT IS FEARED, ESPECIALLY BY SOME ELEMENTS OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE, MIYAZAWA CONCLUDED. MEETING LASTED 40 MINUTES.

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5. COMMENT: THIS OBLIQUE, ALMOST COY EXCHANGE BOILS DOWN TO TWO BASIC POINTS. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT IS TELLING THE JAPANESE THAT GROMYKO IS NOT LIKELY TO VISIT JAPAN IF TREATY IS CONCLUDED WITH CHINA THAT INCORPORATES THE "HEGEMONY CLAUSE". JAPANESE GOVERNMENT IS TELLING SOVIETS THAT JAPAN WILL DO NOTHING TO THREATEN SOVIETS BUT CONCLUSION OF TREATY WITH CHINESE NOT AIMED AT MOSCOW.

6. TIMING OF TROYANOVSKY MOVE DESIGNED TO GET SOVIET VIEWS TO JAPANESE BEFORE MIYAZAWA MEETING WITH CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN-HUA, WHICH WENOW UNDERSTAND WILL TAKE PLACE DEPTEMBER 25. HOW INHIBITING TROYANOVSKY'S REMARKS WILL PROVE REMAINS OPEN TO QUESTION. SHOULD CHINABE AMENABLE TO A FORMULA THAT WILL INCLUDE HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN TREATY WHILE PERMITTING JAPAN TO SAVE SOME FACE, WE SUSPECT GOJ WOULD MANAGE TO FOREGO PLEASURE OF GROMYKO'S COMPANY IN TOKYO, FOR TIME BEING.

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**TAGS:** PFOR, JA, UR, CH, (MIYAZAWA, KIICHI), (GROMYKO, ANDREY ANDREYEVICH), (TROYANOVSKY), (CHIAO KUAN-HUA)  
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